LIGHT IN DARKNESSE.

OR, 34

A Clear and Impartial Discovery Of the Honourable and Just Proceedings of the

Last *PARLIAMENT*,

In the Year; 1654.

For the Vindication of our Worthy PATRIOTS,

AND

Satisfaction of the People, in this Juncture of time.

Printed in the Year, 1656.

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A Serious ADVERTISEMENT TO THE READER.

JUdicious Reader, (for ſuch I deſire thee to be) of whatſoever Magnitude thou art, there is here preſented to thee a Piece which is eminently worthy of thee; if thou do impartially read it, I aſſure thee thou wilt paſſionately love it: its Contexture is of more matter then words; the excellently accompliſhed Author, delighting to ſpeak thick and quick, cloſe and clear; he is to be found both Sententious and Judicious in this moſt excellent Tractate: I ſhould be loath to bribe thee with words, till thou find its worth; only let me tell thee, that here are the Plots of Policy diſcovered with the pen of Piety: Thou ſhalt find a truly Chriſtian heart, writing truth with an Engliſh hand.—— Here is no Gall to diſtaſte thee, but Grace powred upon the lips and pen of the Author, to affect thee with the Spirit of the Work and the Worker.

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It seems this Choice Treatise is no stranger to the world, and possibly such to thee; but however, the more Acquaintance thou hast with it, the better Entertainment thou maist give it; especially, when such silent and secret Friends are very precious and rare, who can be else profitable to thee at home, as others who go every day abroad. It will teach thee in this Juncture of time to measure the Stature of *Hercules* by his Foot, and the meaning of *Machiavel* by his Tongue, and thy future Hopes by thy former Experiences. And so much I pre-advertise, that thou maist read and consider. *Farewell.*

DEbate is the worſt work that can ſuit with theſe times, wherein 'its the general buſineſſe of man to add fewel to the fire. Yet, if it be rightly Moderated, it is the Mother of Truth, Grandmother of Peace, and Nurſe of an Honourable name; all which now wrapped up in theſe preſent diſtempers, it becomes every Honeſt man to clear them forth to right underſtanding, without paſſion, pride, or by reſpects. Nor is it the leaſt of the Calamities that do oppreſſe ingenuous mindes, that over and beſides the particular ſcandals and imputes, Caſt upon private perſons; even thoſe that profeſs the feare of God, ſuppoſe themſelves at liberty, without touch of conſcience, to ſpeak evil of the whole Body of the people in *Conſtituted Parliament*, as if it were *Regardleſſe of Religion, oppreſſive to tender Conſciences, ambitious to bring all into Bondage, and to ruine Chriſts Kingdom.* All which they ground upon this principle, That 'its founded upon the peoples Election; and they for the moſt part naught, the Parliament muſt needs be ſutable.

It's a ſhrewd Argument (I confeſſe) if God be left out of the Caſe: for then, *Homo Homini Lupus*, man will be a Wolfe to man. But 'its within the compaſſe of ordinary Providence obſervable, that in all places and Countries where common Civility beareth rule, there is a conſtant proviſion of Lawes, and adminiſtration of them maintained, in order to the continuance of civil Government: Much more where God pitcheth his Name to dwell, and hath promiſed both Laws and Counſels, ſuch as may be for his own honour, and the good of his people, that promiſe may be reſted upon.

And ſo hath Providence been in a continuall ſtream unto this Nation; for if the Statutes and Parliament proceedings be examined, I dare affirme it will be manifeſt, that no one Parliament (conſidering the then preſent poſture of Affairs) was ever left by God ſo far as to permit them to oppreſſe tender Conſciences, to oppoſe Religion, to be perpetuaters of their own Authority, or be willingly burthenſome to the people.

I ſhould inſiſt longer hereupon, did I not conſider the ends that theſe men may have out of the particular relations that they are in: 'Tis true, they may pretend to advance Magiſtracy when they are in power, or do pretend thereto; and ſpeak of regulating Miniſtry, and the Law, and Parliaments (becauſe they are like ſtill to be above their tops, and regulate them). or if they cannot prevail ſo far, then to bring them into publick ſlight or diſgrace, that themſelves may remain in higheſt eſteem.

What other Parliamentary Aſſemblies have formerly met with in this kinde, is not my work to remember, nor to examine: That which lies next the ſenſe of theſe times, is the laſt of all; which hath had as large a portion of that kinde of entertainment as any of the reſt, if not more; and I am certain, more then its due. For the cleering whereof, (being in conſcience bound thereto as to vindicate truth) I ſhall a little look back to the condition wherein affairs ſtood at their firſt Summons.

After that *England* had taſted the Government by Parliament for ſome yeers; firſt in its own name, after in the name of the Keepers of the Liberties of *England*; that aeriall Title (as it hath been called) before that Government arrived at its maturity, became diſtaſtfull; rather (as I conceive) becauſe it promiſed much, then performed little; and ſo (to make way for another Power) was laid aſide; albeit it might have ſeemed more ſafe for the people to expect under that ſhadow in reſt, untill a more compleat form of Government whereupon they might ſettle, ſhould appear; rather then to adventure through thick and thin, to finde out a *Terra incognita* in the concluſion.

But it was a hidden providence that over-ruled, by letting looſe a power to diſſolve that Parliament: And the ſame being ſo diſſolved, that power with authority is ſuppoſed to reſide in *one* perſon boundleſſe as it was; *He being by Act of Parliament General of the forces of three Nations, of England, Scotland, and Ireland.* This power is concluded thus by that *One* to be bounleſſe; but the Ground mentioned deſtroyes the Concluſion: He ſayes he was General of the Forces in three Nations by Act of Parliament; then was his power limited by Act of Parliament to Forces, and he was not to meddle with Civil power or authority:

2. Speech p. 11.

rity: and by the diſſolution of the Parliament the ſupreme authority was in abeyance in the people, and could not (either by deſcent, ſurvivorſhip, or other purchaſe) in right fall upon that *One*, or any one, without the peoples Vote leading the way thereto.

But *Providence* over-rules that matter alſo; and *that One* undertakes the Authority and Civill power, Calls a Parliament (not as a Repreſentative of the people of three Nations; but, as may be conceived, a Repreſentative of certain Churches congregated) and the ſupreme power is put upon them by this *One*: But they alſo are broken (as it were) without hands. And the broken pieces thereof, at ſeverall times ſubſcribing an Inſtrument of Reſignation (in a private place) of that authority, (which they then being aſunder, never had) to that *One*, who had as much before; and thereupon that *One* concludes that his *Authority* againe by this Reſignation *was boundleſſe and unlimited*, *All things ſubjected to Arbitrarineſſe*, *All Government diſſolved*, *All civil Adminiſtrations at an end*, *Nothing left to keep things in order*, *but the Sword*. And if all were thus, then alſo was the Commiſſion of the Generals place at an end, and he no General in right, nor hath he any power; and therefore it was neceſſary that the ſame power that laid all down, muſt build up ſomewhat, unleſſe it meaned to ruine it ſelf alſo. What other Grounds of neceſſity there were, they may beſt declare that know. 2. Speech p. 13.

Thus this *One* became concerned and made capable of a Name, into which yet he was not baptiſed, till after three or four dayes, a paper (ſince known by the name of The Government) is brought to that *One* (as the matter ſhewes) rather from the *Camp*, then from the *Mount*, framed for the government of three Nations in one; in order to the Souldier, rather then the People: for (whatever the other Nations had) *England* was already poſſeſſed of known Lawes by long approbation, which they liked well, and were never abrogated, either by Forfeiture, Conqueſt, or otherwiſe.

This paper, that *One* (that hee might be the onely One) ſubmits to govern by; and ſo he becomes *that One*, by agreement between him and ſeverall perſons of *Intereſt and Fidelity* (as is ſaid) in this Common-wealth, and Officers of the Army, See the Oath.

and by their desire and advice. And thus is the Title to the Government formed; and thenceforth is this *One* become named, PROTECTOR, and endowed with an Authority never formerly knowne. And (to girt this garment close unto him) he voluntarily, and *ex abundanti*, did bind himselfe by Oath to governe accordingly; which by any Direction in that Paper of Government he never was engaged to insist upon.

This Oath was taken in a publick place in *Westminster-Hall*, in the presence of all that were then present; none of them all gainsaying, whoever they were that gave the Plaudite. Witnesses no question there were, more then enough, of the submission of those then present to this *One*, as to the chief Person in power within these three Nations. But doth this bind the whole body of the People? Doubtless not; nor is the mind of this *One* satisfied therewith.

We are minded of his Reception into *London* in a solemne Festival. The Lord Comissioners of the Great Seal and Judges and Justices of the Land accepting Power from him for Administring of Justice. Divers papers (testifying Recognition of his Power) from several Cities and Corporations, and from the Grand Jury in *Yorkshire*. And lastly, all the three Nations, Elections and Returnes of Members to serve in Parliament, in obedience to his Writs, and the sitting of such in Parliament in pursuance of that Power, and many blessed effects of Gods providence following the same.

Here's enough and more then enough to tell all the three Nations, that they do acknowledge him to have the Chief Power; but not one syllable in all this doth sound any whit of submission to the Government; the Reception of the Protector is one thing, and of the Government another. For though it be true, that the Government was read publickly at the time of the taking of the Oath; and doubtless many heard the same, and understood as much thereof as is to be understood at one reading, without further illumination from that spirit that made it; yet their presence at that time was not required to assent or dissent in the behalf of the people of three Nations, unto the Government then read; but to adde to the publick solemnity with their presence.

Secondly, It is true, That the Government was sent down to the

the ſeveral Countries and Places; ſeveral reaſons were in ſuppoſal, none knew the certainty. Thoſe of them that underſtood the word, *Protector*, well hoped his Power was to protect them in their ancient Liberties and Lawes (as the Keepers of the Liberties had formerly done) and thoſe cared for no more. And of thoſe that looked into the Government, ſome wondred what it meant: Others ſuppoſed them to be Propoſals to be conſidered by the Parliament: Some (obſerving the Oath) feared that the whole as it was, was to be impoſed upon the People. but others upon the ſame ground inferred the contrary, becauſe by the Government the Protectors Legiſlative Power was limited and directed. But as touching the Government it ſelf, it ſeemeth to be made neither by Protector, Council, nor Parliament, but by an unknown Law-giver: and there being not one clauſe therein that enacteth or declareth the ſame; by the very Oath is the Protector bound not to impoſe the ſame, but by the Peoples conſent; nor are they bound thereunder, unleſſe the ſame be concluded by their Repreſentative in Parliament. It may ſeeme therefore that the ſame is but an agreement betweene Perſons unknowne, and the Generall of the Army; or elſe betweene the General of the Army that was, and the Protector that was to be, what Powers he ſhould uſe to govern by: and being that the ſame was engaged unto by Oath, the ſame (it ſeems) was perfect and compleated thereby, or otherwiſe (which I cannot conceive in ſuch Profeſſion) the Oath was raſh and vain.

Thirdly, As touching Election, and fitting of Members in Parliament, by vertue of Writs of Summons from the Protector, it cannot be denyed, but Witneſſe thereby is given to the Power of the Protector to ſummon Parliaments, which have beene done by great men, that nevertheleſſe had no Supreme Power nor claimed any.

Laſtly, The bleſſed effects that are mentioned, queſtionleſs are Bleſſings of infinite Goodneſſe, and ample Teſtimonies of Gods Mercy under the Protectors Government; and his Endeavors as a meanes under God are to be acknowledged of all true Engliſh men with an honourable reſpect: but that they are Effects of the Forme of Government ſo earneſtly contended for, is ſo far wide from all Divinity and Reaſon, as nothing 1. Sp. p. 21.

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can be more: For prosperity may betide in an evil way, and yet no effect thereof, no not so much as adversity of a good way (which may be occasioned thereby.) But between the Form of Government and the Blessings mentioned, there is no Relation, no not so much as between the Subject and Adjunct, and therefore there is not much in that Witnesse to confirm the excellency of the form of Government, or Gods approbation thereof as is pretended.

And it may seem that the Protectors mind was neither yet so fully satisfied; somewhat is glanced upon by the word *Stipulation*: Concerning which he saith, *That it hath been done on one part, and that fully accepted, and surely a return ought to be:* and thereupon urgeth, that the concurrence of the Parliament ought to be to the Government, *Or else what doth that stipulation signifie?*

2 Speech p.29.

And hereunto I shall answer, That it signifies nothing: its no stipulation at all till both parties agree; the Lawyers will bear witnesse to that: and if the Parliament refuse agreement without reason, the blame must have lighted upon them; but God not permitting the matter to come to the trial, no such impute can be charged upon them.

But it seems that the Parliament was mistaken in medling with the Government, *They should have left that as they found it,* and *betake themselves to provide Remedy against grievances.*

3. Sp. p. 5

If they were mistaken, they were led thereinto by the Lord Protectors own words, in his first Speech minding them of it, and commending it to them (as was conceived) to gain the Parliaments approbation thereof, which must have been done Explicitely or Implicitely, and either way could not be undertaken without taking the Government into consideration upon debate. And when the House was assembled upon Munday, the first Motion being against the Book in print; the second, that spake to avoid debate upon the Book, moved, That a Committee might be named to frame Proposals to bee made to the Protector. But that was waved also by divers eminent persons of State that succeeded immediately each after other, all of them insisting, that it may be doubted, whether all the Members present were upon one foot; or (as others said) upon one foundation; and thereupon a Question was framed and

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put for the approving of the Lord Protectors Power; wherein of neceſſity the Book muſt have come into conſideration, in the debate whereof (principally upon the wording of the Queſtion) if any plainneſſe or bluntneſſe of ſpeech were, poſſibly the ſame was repreſented to the Protector in a worſe ſenſe then the ſame was intended, and ſo might occaſion that check ſo often mentioned, and which (if God had ſo ordered it) might have been better if it had been a Mate to the whole Houſe, as it proved to many of the Members.

The ſenſe of this check manifeſted in the Speech, then made by the Protector, was not for medling with the Government, but for trenching upon that firſt Principle of the Government, by One and a Parliament, contrary to the Writ of Summons and Indentures of Return; and thereupon the Engagement was framed, and in that ſenſe ſubſcribed.

And as touching this ſenſe, let the Speech it ſelf in print ſpeak, wherein the whole Government is divided into Circumſtantials and Fundamentals. And as touching the Circumſtantials his words are, *The Circumſtantials I ſhall eaſily agree to vary or leave out, as I ſhall be convinced by reaſon.* And as to the whole he ſaith, *I for my part ſhall be willing to be bound more then I am in any thing, that I may be convinced of, may be for the good of the People, in preſervation of the Intereſt and Cauſe contended for.* He offers himſelf then to be convinced by reaſon, which cannot be without debate, and conſideration had thereby of the Circumſtantials, and of the whole; and then it were worth the Scrutiny, How this could be, and the Government left as it was found.

2 Sp. f. 28

2 Sp. f. 43.

Neither was this the ſenſe of one, or a few; for after the check put upon the Houſe, thoſe that returned notwithſtanding into the Houſe, proceeded on in their courſe as formerly, and were ſo far from deſiſting to meddle with the Government, that they called for the Record thereof out of the Chancery, and purpoſely debated the ſame from point to point, and varied from the ſame in their Votes, as they ſaw Cauſe, no man interrupting them: and their example was propounded by ſome well knowne to the Protector for Council, as an incouragement unto others, that with-drew upon the check received, to

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the intent that they alſo might returne to the work, as many had done. I ſhall conclude therefore, it was the general ſenſe both of the Protector and the Parliament, That the ſaid Government ſhould not be left aſide without conſideration, but that the Parliament ſhould alter ſuch matters, as by reaſon the Protector ſhould be convinced of to deſerve alteration.

But the Houſe might have anſwered the Grievances, for which they ſhould have thanks from all that intruſted them.

It is very true: but (though it might bee their weakneſſe) many were of opinion, that the Government was the firſt and greateſt grievance of all the reſt; for to what purpoſe can Lawes ſerve to help grievances, when as they are all under the Protectors cognizance to determine whether they be not contrary to ſomewhat contained within the Government? and ſo nothing ſhall be Law, unleſs he will.

He ſpeaketh furthermore, *That the Parliament might have proceeded to make wholſome Lawes, which the People expect from them.* And in his ſecond Speech ſaith, *You* (meaning the Par-
P. 35. liament) *have an abſolute Legiſlative Power in all things that can poſſibly concern the good and intereſt of the Publick.* Theſe are good words, if true; but come to particulars, and conſider of Religion, the Militia, and Money, beſides other things, all theſe are concerning the good of the Publick, and yet not one of them but under the abſolute Legiſlative Power of the Protector and the Council, as daily experience maketh manifeſt.

3 Sp. p. 3. The ſecond thing charged upon the Paliament, That *they had no heart to invite England to ſing a Song of thankſgiving to God for thoſe Appearances and Providences, not to be matched in Story.*

It is a very high ſtrain of Government that his Highneſſe is arrived at, not only to impoſe Lawes for the outward man, but to ſit as a Judg upon the hearts of ſo many (for many of whom he is ſo well perſwaded to lay down his life) ſo as to conclude the moſt, if not all of them under unthankfulneſſe. It is very true, we are all unthankful, the Lord give us repentance thereof, and forgiveneſſe, and raiſe up our hearts to a right entertainment of his Mercies. Nevertheleſſe, it had been

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becoming an humble Christian, not to have cast the first stone unlesse himself had been without sinne. But wherein consists this unthankfulnesse? Is it in taking into consideration the Government? Now if that same Government, that Government I say, be a foundation of oppression to the people, and the Parliament be the peoples Trustees (as he calleth them) I humbly beseech him, that as he hath upbraided them for unthankfulnesse, to instruct them wherein they have declared so much to his observation.

And yet there is not enough; somewhat is done that looks *like a Paricide, or not owning that Authority that called you hither.* And certainly, if he had been so mindful of the Priviledges of the House, as hee was afterward; hee would have seene somewhat presented from the House, before he would have charged the whole House with so unnatural a Crime. And yet *he formerly hath spoken not as one that assumes to himselfe Dominion over you, but as one that doth resolve to be a fellow servant with you.* 1Sp.p.33

The next fault of the Paliament is delay, which is charged with its aggravations. First, That *since the Recognition, it hath been without any interruption from him.*

The truth hereof, as to the matter of Fact, I shall shortly thus state:

That after nigh two months was spent at the Grand Committee, in framing several Articles, in order to a Bill for Government, it was about the beginning of *November* before the House assumed the Debate of that, which was brought in from the Committee into the House. And about the latter end of *November*, the subject matter befalling to be concerning the Government of the standing Forces after the death of the present Lord Protector; The Vote of the House crossed the expectation of some men of eminent Rank, and discontent was taken and observed, and within a few dayes information from without doors (as they phrase it) came to divers Members, that it was determined to hold the House in debate without suffering a conclusion until the set time of five months were wasted, and then to dissolve; although (to be plain) it was expected rather that the

House should have been dissolved forthwith.

This Information caused those that were for the altering of the Government in Debate, to speed their work what they could, by sitting the whole day, and part of the night also, from the former part of *December*, til the day of their Dissolution: during which time the former resolution of Debate was far more evident by long Speeches, redoubling of Debates, and the like; wherein so much time was lost, that the House would allow of no diversions, although many important occasions were offered. At length the Bill was finished, and the Question put for the passing the same, and for sending the same to the Protector, and upon that one Question, by reason of many provisoes interposing, it continued for nine or ten days space, til the five months was ended, and upon the day after (the Lords day not being accompted) the Question was renewed again, and when all the provisoes were finished, the Letter from the Lord Protector to call the House away, was immediately delivered to the Speaker.

Now whether the Lord Protector, or who else knew hereof, God and their owne consciences can best witnesse; and who they were that occasioned this delay.

A second Aggravation is, that this delay was accompanied with a neglecting of the Lord Protector: *I know not what*
Pag. 5. *you have been doing; I do not know whether you have been alive or dead; I have not once heard from you all this time, I have not, and that you all know; if that be a fault, surely it hath not been mine.*

Strange assertions; not to be made good, but by subtil distinctions, tropes and figures, or mental reservations. *Hee knew not what the Parliament had been a doing.* Certainly, if
Pag. 10. he had been altogether so nescient, the words of Debate *concerning Liberties*, and *Non Causa pro Causa*, would never have slipped his pen so often, and his determination upon the whole would never have been so positive; *Your time hath been spent in setting up somewhat else upon another bot-*
Pag. 21. *tom then this stands, that looks as if a laying grounds of a quarrel had rather been designed, then to give the people Settlement.* And verily, if he had known more, possibly the matter might not have deserved so sharp a censure: those therefore

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adviſed ill, to diſſolve the Parliament before their work was known or underſtood.

The next words, of being *alive or dead*, I think in charity ſhould not be literally taken, but be conſidered with the next, as an Explanation of the ſenſe: *I have not once heard from you all this time, I have not; and that you all know.* For my own opinion, I believe not one of them do know; but contrarily it was generally knowne, that he heard from the Houſe four times during the ſitting of the Houſe. Firſt concerning the Faſt: Secondly, the allowance of General *Venables* his Voyage. Thirdly, the allowance of the chief Officers. Fourthly, by a Committee concerning the demoliſhing of Garriſons, and reducing the Army to the ſetled number. Beſides, one from a Committee of the whole Houſe, by a Sub-Committee concerning Religion.

It is to be hoped therefore when his Highneſſe hath taken due conſideration hereof, he will not impute it as ſo great a fault of the Houſe, that he hath not heard once from them in all this time.

But to take the words as ſpoken by one that would be glad to have heard from the Houſe more often, and what concerneth the ſlighting of him herein; I ſhall refer the further anſwer to that charge of refuſing conference, to avoid tedious tautologies.

In the next place, the ſame pen proceeds to the matter of Newes, which is recited as a bitter fruit of the Parliaments ſitting; and thereupon concludes in general, *Diſſettlement, Diviſion, Diſcontent, Diſſatisfaction, together with real dangers to the whole, hath been more multiplyed within theſe five Months of your ſitting, then in ſome years before.*

His Highneſſe can charge home in the field, but at his pen is not ſo adventurous. He comes on bravely with an imputation, That *he fears will be through ſome interpretation a little too juſtly put upon the Parliament*: But then hee wheels about, *I will not ſay, you have cheriſhed, that were too hard.* And therefore I ſhall not trouble my way with any Apology for the Parliament herein, but ſhall leave it as a charge directly upon the enemies that he ſpeaks of. Pag. 7

But as touching the reflection; that the Parliament administred occasion thereof for want of settlement, *which* pag. 8. *with ease conjecture the enemies might take up and conclude.* It may well be said, I hope without offence, that it was easie for the Lord Protector, knowing his owne Resolves, to conclude: But that the enemies not knowing the Debates of the Parliament before hand, could easily determine therefrom to frame their Designes, appears not to ordinary understanding. For Parliaments have ever altered their Debates upon occasions, as better grounds thereby are immergent (as becomes wise men to do;) and therefore I may well say, this dispute is a *Non causa pro causa*; for divers Designes may concur in one time, and yet each of them independant upon other; the grounds may bee several, though disaffection may be the general cause of all. And therefore this kind of arguing is so far distant from right reasoning, that it savours rather of the old Disease of disaffection to Parliaments; whereof this last hath met with such store of expressions tending that way, as nothing in my opinion renders more sad and signall symptomes of ensuing misery to this Nation, then this, that their Cure should be accounted their Disease.

Three grounds are alledged of the enemies incouragement in their undertakings. 1. *The Parliaments delayes.* 2. *Their not setling the Government as they found it.* 3. *Pamphlets publishing Votes.*

First, As to the Delayes so often mentioned, these can be no ground of the enemies undertakings; for that the undertakings were long before any delayes in the Parliament were or could be taken notice of.

Secondly, the Work of the Parliament, cannot in reason be charged with delayes: for let the nature of the subject matter be considered (the particulars being matters Fundamental, many of which yet never passed under the character of written Law.) And it might be charitably judged, that sixty Articles of that nature, wherein are contained nigh two hundred Votes, once framed at the Grand

Grand Committee; then twice read and debated in the full Houſe, and after ſome of them debated againe at the Grand Committee, then called for againe into the whole Houſe, and read the third time; and then many particulars debated anew, and the whole concluded with divers proviſoes debated, and fewer of them agreed upon, and the whole at the point of paſſing, to bee preſented to the Protector; beſides other Bills of Publick intereſt, and all this done in five Months: I ſay, it may be Charitably Judged that theſe are not effects of Delayes.

The ſecond cauſe of this Eaſie conjecture, is *the Hopes of the enemies, that the Parliament would not ſettle. Which* hopes afterwards are called *Aſſurance of the Parliaments not agreeing the Government as they found it.* Hopes may be vain and groundleſſe, but Aſſurance cannot be: No demonſtration was ever made by the Parliament to give them ſuch aſſurance to ground ſuch plots upon. For what if they ſhould not agree to the Protector; poſſibly the Protector upon reaſon ſhew'd, might be convinced by them, and he might agree to them; and then, what is become of this eaſie Conjecture? But 'its yet more ſtrange, that the enemies ſhould ſo eaſily conjecture no agreement, and ſhould not alſo underſtand, that it was no part of the deſire of the Protector or his Council, that the Parliament ſhould meddle with the Government at all, ſeeing it was ſo ſtrong upon its own Baſis, and (as was ſaid by an Oracle) other foundation can no man lay, then that which is already laid. So as whether agree, or not agree, the enemies could gaine no encouragement thereby to adventure their lives upon conceits that poſſibly might never come to paſs. Pag. 8. Pag. 15.

The third ground of ſuch eaſie Conjectures was, from *Pamphlets, mentioning ſtrange Votes, and Reſolves of yours; which I hope did abuſe you.*

It muſt be agreed, that there were ſuch Reſolves publiſhed in print, as if paſſed by the Parliament; and complaint was thereof made in the Houſe; but it was feared that the maine end was to divert the Proceedings of the Houſe, Pag. 14.

Houſe from their way, rather then out of any zeale to the Honour of the Houſe; and that occaſioned divers not to favour the motion ſo far, as to make any enquiry thereinto.

But as touching that clauſe [*Which (I hope) did abuſe you*] I cannot in charity interpret it according to the letter, becauſe its not Chriſtianity to like of the abuſe of any, much leſſe of perſons in ſuch relation; but do account the words a ſtraine of Rhetorick, expreſſing his not beleeving it: And I know not how to expound it otherwiſe, conſidering the Protectors relation, whoſe place (as ſupreme Magiſtrate) might in ſuch caſe warrant him to puniſh ſuch offences done againſt the Parliament during their ſerious imployments in other matters (to the end that they might with more liberty ſerve their Country) rather then willingly to permit ſuch Impoſtures.

Another charge is the *Debauching of the Army*: concerning which his words are, *Some very well known to you, have helped the debauching of the Army; but I would be loath to ſay, they were any of your own number.* If they were none of the Members of the Parliament, to what purpoſe are theſe words added as increaſing the heavineſſe of the Charge? Its ſaid, They are *very well known to the Parliament*; who as ſo conſidered, know none but their Members, or perſons of publick truſt: But ſo long as theſe are not of the number of the Parliament, its leſſe materiall to them; and the rather, becauſe its not charged upon them, that they did it intentionally.

There's more of this kinde, that comes yet more nigh to the touch: *What if I am able to make it appear in fact, that ſome amongſt you have run into the City of London, to perſwade to Petitions and Addreſſes to you, for reverſing your own Votes that you have paſſed?* And what if the Lord Protector be not able to make it appear? What if he be miſ-informed? Why then its not in *fact*, but *conceit*; and then theſe *ſome* are *none*. But he ſaith, *Some amongſt you*; So was the Lord Protector then preſent, and the privie Councel, and divers ſtrangers of every kinde of Intereſt. Who then in particular thoſe *ſome* were, I cannot ſay; but more then one may well

P g 15.

remem-

remember, That about the end of November, a report was of an information made to the Army, then about *London*, that the Parliament had passed Votes to reduce and disband the Souldiers, and take away their pay; and that Addresses were preparing by the Souldiers, to give a stop to such proceedings. But let that imputation light where it will, its a strange kinde of crimination, that blurres all in general, and yet charges none in particular; and therefore cannot be answered by any. The tongue of such a one may be true, and not his heart; he may not deceive the world in plaine words, yet upon a hint may wish with all his heart the world would deceive themselves.

The Parliament is not yet rendred sufficiently odious: the same pen therefore retires back againe to the former Charge, that it may fixe the same yet deeper; For having minded us againe of neglect of Settlement, it tels us, *There was a Government in the possession of the People, I say, A Government in the possession of the People.* A saying (question-lesse) advised, and certainly true, otherwise it had not been doubled. The subject is the Government which the Parliament entered upon, ravelling into it; This (its said) is in the possession of the people. Stay there, Reader, till the matter be weighed: For either its intended, That the people hath the Government in their possession; or, That the Government hath the people in its possession; and either way its neither good, true, or reall. Its not *good* for the people either to possesse it, or be possessed by it: They have already, and long have had their Lawes, called *Bonæ, approbatæ*, and *antiquæ Leges*, to be their possession; of which they are not yet so weary, as to cast them away for that which they understand not, much lesse can desire or delight in. Pag. 16.

Secondly, It is not *true*, that this Government is in the possession of the people: For how can any possession be of that Government, seeing the very imposing thereof without consent of the Parliament, doth destroy the Government in the main and fundamental principle thereof in *One and a Parliament?* Or how can it be in the possession of the people, and not in their power, but they to be overpowred of it?

Lastly,

Laſtly, it cannot be *Reall*; for the Lawyers tell us, that to have a thing in poſſeſſion, implies the good, and benefit thereof, to the uſe of him that hath it. Now, what benefit can there-out redound to the people, otherwiſe then as a priſoner may be ſaid to poſſeſſe his priſon, or chaines, or ſtocks wherein he is holden? which by Gods over-ruling hand, indeed may redound to his good, yet in any moral ſenſe are ſaid to be not really good. Nevertheleſſe, be it as it is; His Lordſhip ſaith, that *the Government hath been exerciſed neer fifteen Months.* The Government then hath rather been in the poſſeſſion of the Protector, then the people; but how long? 'its ſaid neer fifteen Months; and that is near two Months before the ſame was borne and brought forth: it was therefore an Actor while it was in the *Idæa*, before it was made; and had the like influence in the notion, with it in the production: But let the preſcription for fifteen Months be allowed, it might be upon a forcible entry. No, *the People willingly received it*, ſaith the Protector; although thoſe that wiſh him well, do pity him: and his enemies rejoyce to ſee how he is abuſed with flattery and miſ-information: and many believe that he deceives himſelf. For it cannot be imagined that the people are willing with what they underſtand not, and in the ſenſe whereof not only the Parliament, but the privie Council could not agree amongſt themſelves.

The third excellency of this Government is, *That from it all Law and Juſtice is diſtributed.* No ſuch matter; that cannot be the fountain of all Law and Juſtice in theſe Nations, that is neither Rule, nor in it ſelf hath any power, and which may be altered or taken quite away, and yet Law and Juſtice diſtributed nevertheleſſe.

The fourth excellency is, that *its owned by God*: A bold Aſſertion, that muſt clothe this humane Law by conſequence with a Divine *right*. How comes he to know this Ownerſhip? Its ſaid, as *being the diſpenſation of his Providence after twelve yeers War.* It ſeems then, all Gods diſpenſations of providence after twelve yeers war, do bear witneſs of Gods owning whatſoever is come to paſs: but the Scripture tels us, that *no man knows love or hatred from all that is before him*; and experience brings forth daily many iſſues of permiſſive providence after theſe twelve yeers war, which God will not own,

nor

nor will the Protector agree thereto: for he knoweth that God commandeth some things to be done, and yet will require it as a sin from the doers, if they offend in the manner or end.

The last Excellency of this Government is, *That it is witnessed to by the People.* But they have done nothing that can witness this Government to be either Just or Good, their Obedience is done to the Power that is supreme, consisting with their Liberties; let the form of Government be new or old, all is one as to that.

All hitherto have been but skirmishes, now comes the main Body to the push of the pike. *You might* (saith he) *have made provision for setling of things in matters of Religion, as would uphold and countenance a godly Ministry, and yet give a just liberty to godly men of different judgments, of the same faith with them, as the Independents are, and those under the form of Baptism, who are sound in the faith. But nothing is done toward them; but there is a strange itch upon mens spirits; nothing will satisfie them, unlesse they can put their finger upon their brethrens conscience to pinch them there: What greater hypocrisie, then for those that were oppressed by the Bishops, to become greatest oppressors themselves?* Pag. 17. Pag. 18. A grievous charge upon God knows whom; but such they are as were under the persecution by Bishops, which may be meant of all species of Protestants, or any of them, and such as call for Liberty now: and certainly the Parliament must needs be dangerously infected with these kind of men; or else *Quorsum hæc?* What doth these conduce to the breaking up of the Parliament, which is the matter now in pursuit? In this Charge the Method is first to shew what they should or might have done. 2. What they did not. 3. What they did. 4. The censure.

For the first, the summe is, *You might have provided for upholding and countenancing a godly Ministry, and also a just Liberty to godly men of different judgements*; viz. *Independents, and those under the form of Baptism.*

First, As touching upholding and countenancing a godly Ministry, in order as aforesaid, which he saith the Parliament might have done; its true, they might have done just so much

as himself would like wel of, and not one tittle more; and how far that would have extended, the Government wil tell us, in the 26 and 27 Articles; and how far his good liking will extend to or beyond the Government, the daily practise will also shew.

Secondly, Its said, That *nothing hath been done*: it seems therefore, he hath had no notice of what hath been done; or else, if by that word *Done*, he intendeth *Perfected*, it will lye at his own door, who thought it not meet to allow the Parliament any longer time then the just five months to perfect what was in doing. But its urged, That *there is upon the spirits of men a strange itch, nothing will satisfie them, unless they can put their finger upon their brethrens consciences to pinch them there.* Who are these men that deal thus uncharitably? Hath the Parliament done this? If not, its not Christian like done to cast it in their way, when it concernes them not. If it be charged upon the Parliament as their proper fault, it is absolutely denyed, that there was any Debate or Vote in the House tending to abridg the just Liberties of orthodox Independents, or those under the form of Baptism (as they are called) being otherwise Orthodox, or to stop them from the libertie of their consciences. Its not denied, but that there was Debate and some Votes in order to the punishment of one *Bidle*, who was committed by the Parliament for seducing into Heretical opinions, contrary to the blessed Trinity, and other Fundamentals, as by his two Books acknowledged by him doth appear. There were Motions also made against one *Akhurst*, for Blasphemies, but the fault being before the Council, many men thought it not so convenient for the Parliament to be troubled therewith in such a necessity of much businesse, and smal time. And if these be the pinches complained of, for which the Parliament must dissolve, Gods wil be done; nevertheless, as to these crimes, or shadowes of Crimes cast upon the Parliament, give mee leave to pity the condition of some professors, that wil take liberty to give credit to reports without examination of the truth, or rather fancie things themselves, tending to the wrong, not of one or two, but the Representative of the three whole Nations, and can or will have no friends nor Ministers, that will be faithful in such

cases

Cases, to minde them of the issue. *The long Parliament* (saith he) *would have proceeded otherwise then this hath done, if it had this expedient offered.* That the long Parliament was more wise then this of late, may be true, and yet have given his Highnesse as little content as this hath done; for what ever is pretended in the Government, it cannot consist with a free Parliament, nor it with that: And therefore he could not allow of that Parliament that made him what he was, nor of that which he made what it was; nor of that last which neither made him, nor (though summoned by him,) was made by him; and yet it intended no hurt to his person, nor prejudice to his place, so farre as it judged, might be safe for the liberty of the People of *England*: and such measure as these have met with, must others expect to have, unlesse they will give up the peoples liberties to the will of the Protector, for the time being. Pag. 19.

But he doth assert that *there is in this Government a just Liberty to the People of God, and the just rights of the people in these three Nations provided for.* Pag 20.

But more fully in his first speech, wherein speaking of this Government he saith, *It's Calculated for the interest of the people, for the interest of the people alone; and for their good, without respects had to any other interest. Let it speak for it selfe.* Pag. 20.

And for my own part, notwithstanding what hath been published in the discourse, entitled, A True state of the Case of the Commonwealth, &c. I say also, let it plead for it selfe but in these few perticulars, besides many others.

1. The Government so highly extolled, is founded in the union of three Parliaments, of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland* into one Parliament, allowing 30. out of *Scotland*, and 30. out of *Ireland* to vote in this Parliament, and constituting 60. to be a Parliament for the three Nations. And thus there is a Coordinacy of Legislative Power in these three Nations, over each other; and if it will please the Protector to sift the Parliament at any time, as he did the long Parliament, and this last Parliament, by the late recognition. May not the Protector, and the two Nations of *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, give a law to *England*, or *England* alone give a law to them both; or 60. of them all, give a law to all? And are the liberties of these Countries preserved herein? judg you.

2. By the 21. Article a Council constituted by the Protector, or such of them as he shall call to council, have a power to determine the qualification of all, or any Members or Member

of Parliament, without which, ſuch are not capable to ſit as Members of Parliament. Are not theſe truſtees then to the Protector and his Council? or are they truſtees to the people, on whom there liberties in caſe of difference concerning prerogative may be ſafely truſted? It's paſt all doubt that *England* was never ſo incumbred in their elections, nor would the Law ſuffer it; it being contrary to all reaſon, that hereby the Protector, for the time being, ſhould be enabled to frame a Parliament ſutable to his own ends, be they never ſo unjuſtifiable.

3 By the 24 Article, no Bils ſhall be admitted to be Laws, if they contain any thing contrary to the matters contained in that Government, without the Lord Protectors conſent. So as all the matters in that Government are of ſuch perfection, as they muſt binde *Semper*, and *ad ſemper*. No Law muſt croſs that without the Protectors conſent; So as he being made the Judg, no Law can paſs without his cogniſance; nor then alſo, unleſs the Protector ſhall declare, that they are not contrary to the matters contained in the Government: and thus becometh he ſworn not to paſs thoſe juſt Laws *quas Vulgus eligerit*, which the people ſhall chuſe.

4 As touching the *Militia* and Forces, they are in the intervals of Parliament wholly at the order of the Protector and Councel, who are the birth of each other by Election; and theſe have the power of *War* and *Peace* without limitation: And ſo they have the power of making Laws for *War* and *Peace*: and thus every mans perſon and eſtate, as to war and peace, is out of the power of the people.

5 The Protector and the Councel have power to make Lawes for raiſing of money till the next Parliament, and to make Laws for the peace and welfare of theſe Nations, til the Parliament ſhall take further order: ſo as if no Parliament be called; or if called, yet no aſſent of the Protector be to any Act, under colour that they are againſt the matters in the Government, then is this power outſtretched *ſine die*; and ſo, in ſtead of a perpetual Repreſentative, we have a Protector with a perpetual Legiſlative power.

6 The charge of maintaining 30000 men impoſed upon the people for ever, without the peoples conſent, and the manner of raiſing of money for them fixed unalterably (without the Protectors conſent): and ſo the people have a great kindneſſe done to them, they have the burthen laid upon their ſhoulders againſt their wils, and not to be removed til the Protector pleaſes.

7. As

7 As touching *Religion*, 1. All persons are allowed to live above, or without Ordinances, if they will. 2. Any man may maintain, hold forth, and publish any hereticall opinion that he shal please, and seduce others into the same, and be tolerated therein; and this they call Christian Liberty. But let the constituted frame of this Common-wealth be considered as its consisting of a company of Christians, and it wil be evident that the excellency thereof cannot be maintained, unless Christianity be also maintained. And seeing all mens hearts by nature tend only to evil, it will by natural consequence issue therefrom, that if the Ordinances be not maintained in honour, and if the Doctrine be not kept free from mixture with heresies and blasphemy, its the only calm and sure way of destroying the very Christianity of these Nations, under colour of a Law to maintain this kind of liberty of conscience. When iniquity is thus framed by a Law, *God help, for man cannot.*

Its said, that it *would be huge friendlines for the Parliament to have convinced his Highnes of the errors therein.* In that he was not convinced by the Parliament, the ground must rest upon want of friends and faithful Councellors, some of whom, if not all of them did well know, that the whole product of all the Parliaments Resolves were ready to present to his Highnesse, in order to a mutuall conference; or it was in himself that liked not any such course, nor would indure that the same should be presented as a Bill passed by the House left there should be a Record in the House thereof, and so there should be a Parliament Government counterfacing the former Government; here's the bowels of the matter: He holds forth seeming willingness to be convinced, but is already resolved not to waive the Government the Officers of the Army with the help of some others, with himself, hath agreed upon, and Himself hath sworn: becaus its a dishonourable thing for them to be imposed upon, and not impose upon the people. For its said further, *But in stead thereof* (viz. the Government) *your time has been spent in setting up somwhat else upon another bottom then this stands, that looks like laying grounds of a Quarrell.* So that this is the sore that hath rankled inwardly all this while, and never brake forth till after five months ripening. The peoples Government must bottome anew, for the old one shall serve no longer. The question then is, What this *Bottome* is? If it be the Bottome set down in the Government, it is *One and a Parliament.*

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And

And if his Highneſs wil take notice of what is done in Parliament before it be orderly delivered to him from the Parliament, as he hath taken notice that the *Bottom* is different from that which the Government ſtands upon, he will find in it that *ſomewhat* is upon the ſame *Bottom*. But if the *Bottom* be ſomewhat not ſet downe in the Government, I ſuppoſe it will prove like the notion of *Non Cauſa pro cauſa*. And if the Oath taken by his Highneſs may be reſted upon, this bottom will be this, *The major part of a Parliament (which was no Repreſentative of the People) after diſſolution of their Aſſembly, do every one apart ſubſcribe an Inſtrument of Reſignation of what Powers and Authorities they then ſeverally had, unto one who doth impoſe a Government upon the People, which was framed and brought to him by perſons unknown to the people, and by him ſworn unto.* Now if this manner of the Original of this Government, and impoſing thereof be the *Bottom*, and that the people ſhall have no other Government but thus framed and impoſed, without their knowledg and conſent firſt had, I ſuppoſe the world will judg that this *Bottom* is not worth the *quarrelling* for: ſeeing its well known that the People of *England* were formerly a free people, and ever had their Votes in the making of their own Lawes, and its hoped have not as yet loſt their freedom.

But it is intimated, that there can be no hurt in the Peoples ſubmitting to this bottom; *For if the Truſtees by experience find any evil in any parts* (of the Government) *referred by the Government to the conſideration of the Protector and Parliament, doubtleſſe that the Protector for the time being, will not agree to alter, its paſt imagination.* This is the ſum of many more words, and concerning it (to ſpeak plainly) it was paſt imagination, till now by experience it is found too true, That a General of the Army, raiſed, commiſſionated and intruſted by the People, he alſo profeſſing Religion beyond the ordinary ſort of Profeſſors, having only by Commiſſion a bare Military Power beyond all other men, ſhould undertake a ſupreme Power and Authority in Matters Civill as well as Military, take away the Peoples Liberties, and adventure a Quarrel with the People, rather then let them enjoy their owne: I ſay again, this was beyond imagination, and by this firſt act may bee conjectured what future Protectors will or may do, though now it may be paſt the Protectors imagination, that they will deny to agree to remedy that evil that ſhall be found. Nevertheleſſe, as

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doubtleſſe

doubtless the words were well weighed when they were written & spoken; so the Reader must weigh them wel, or he may wonder why then this last Parliament might not alter the evil that is found in that Government. To this the words will answer; *It is such an evil as must be referred to them by the Government.* So as either the things not referred are so good and necessary as nothing can be more, or else they also should be alterable, or otherwise they are a necessary evil. And this is not all, for, *the evil must be found by experience*: Common sense and reason of Parliament must not do the work before they learne from experience; and therefore this Parliament must first submit to it, and must not undertake to mend the evil for want of experience; but future Parliaments may, *For time it self will be the best discoverer*, as he saith; so as the Parliament must first break the peoples head, and then the people must come to the Protector for the time being, for a plaister, who it cannot be imagined will refuse to agree to alter any thing that may be found to be for the good of the people.

Although for the present the keeping up, and having in his power the Militia seems the most hard, yet if it should be yeilded up at such a time as this, what would become of all? His present apprehensions it seems kicks against what he formerly said; all then was for the people, and no intereſt besides; now the Militia is acknowledged to be in the Protector for a season, and upon good ground, *viz.* To maintain the Cause that otherwise he concludes would be given up. But he may please to remember, the Cause which he speaks of was gained whiles the Militia was in the Peoples hands, and may they not be trusted with the Militia for the maintaining of that Cause? His Highness is full of faith whiles the Militia is in his hands, concluding that the Cause is a *Rock upon which whoever splits shall suffer shipwrack.* But if the people have the Militia what shal become of all? What? Nothing but well, the people are more concerned in it then all the Protectors and Privy Council that are or ever shall be, can be. God is interested in the work so long as the Cause is his, and he hath any amongst the people in covenant with him. But I think the world will not be deceived; for so long as the Souldiers are possessed of the Scepter, they neither will, nor can trust people or Parliament; and the reason is evident, because though the Protector be elected by the people, yet the Souldiers observants, they are by usurpation become Masters of the people:

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people: and being conſcious of injuſtice done to them, how can they adventure their cauſe; which is by them called, The Cauſe?

In the next place he produceth the grounds of ſtating the Militia in manner as in the Government; and (as its noted of the Mermaid) his firſt ground is beautiful; its but a temporary Power; its but for *ſuch a time as this*; but all the grounds ſubſequent are of an everlaſting nature; for if the Militia ſhould be yeilded,

Par. 22. *It determines the Protectors Power of doing that good he ought.* If every man might have as much power as he might imploy in doing good, the world would be ſoon undone. If the Protector hath not the Militia, its ſaid, *he cannot do the good he ought*; no, nor do the hurt he would. God foreſaw this, when he commanded concerning a King of *Iſrael*, that he ſhould not multiply horſes to himſelf, leſt he ſhould bring the people into Egyptian Bondage. But what is this good? *Hindring of perpetuity of Parliaments.* Yes, and the calling and ſitting of Parliaments alſo: But it will not hinder the ſifting of Parliaments. There needs not this trouble to keep Parliaments from perpetuating themſelves. A Protector alone can make a Parliament weary with ſitting five months. His Highneſs formerly thought that the long Parliament had a deſign to perpetuate themſelves, now he thinks in his conſcience they would have continued no longer then til ſuch an expedient as this had been offered: and if I may ſpeak my opinion, I do think, if they had known thereof they would not have continued ſo long.

A ſecond good of the Protectors holding the Milita is, *Hindring Parliaments from impoſing what Religion they pleaſe upon the conſciences of men.* So as the Protector for the time being ſhall be ſole Judg in matters of Religion, to diſtribute to any man liberty of conſcience, to get into pulpits when they pleaſe, preach what they think, and think what they liſt; and for others, liberty of conſcience to ſubmit to no ordinance, nor know no God, provided they will live quietly: and unto theſe three Nations liberty of conſcience to be at length without Church or Religion. Is this liberty? I ſpeak to wiſe Chriſtians, judg you what I ſay.

The third good of the Protectors holding the Militia is, *the hindring the Parliament from impoſing what Government they pleaſe upon the Nation.* That is, the Protector for the time being, will look to maintain his own ſtake, and the government ſo conſtituted, and no other. He may impoſe a Government, but the Parliament

3. The Parliament could not make any application for satisfaction from without doors, til they first had determined their own sense within; nor did they orderly know, or could take notice of any difference between the Protector and them; for although they had heard some Reports concerning it, yet divers of the Privy Council plainly said, that they understood not his Lordships resolvs

4. The Propoſals made in the Houſe of ſuch mutual conference, was made by ſome Members, but not as by any direction from the Protector, nor had the Houſe reaſon to apprehend it as his Highneſs ſenſe, conſidering what anſwer they formerly had, as to the matter concerning Religion.

5. And laſtly, although the Houſe had compleated their Reſolvs, yet being themſelves ſatisfied, they had no cauſe firſt to complain, nor deſire mutual conference, till exceptions were taken to what was done after due preſenting of the ſame to the Protector. And therefore I know not what hidden fate (if I may adventure ſuch a word) betided the Parliament, that ſo many particulars from time to time ſhould be revealed to the L. Protector, who *prayed to*
Pag. 7. *God for a bleſſing upon the Parliament; And did think it to be his buſineſs to ſee the utmoſt iſſue, and what God would produce by the Parliament, rather then unſeaſonably to intermeddle with them*; And yet that for want of information in the main point of all, he ſhould diſſolve the Parliament juſt when the work was in the birth, and not to ſtay one hour longer to ſee the iſſue, what God would produce. But (to uſe his Lordſhips own words) *if it be thus, it's well*
Pag. 21. *our labours have not arrived to any maturity at all.* Its much better his Highneſs ſhould take up this Government where hee finds it, then the Parliament ſhould agree it him.

By way of juſtifying his deſire of mutual conference or cordial
Pag. 23 debate, he further ſaith, That *he would not be averſe to any alteration upon conviction, although he could not have agreed to the taking it off the Foundation on which it ſtands*; viz. *the acceptation and conſent of the people.* Then belike he can allow of altering any thing that is upon the foundation: ſo as now it ſeems his Negatives are not ſo dear to him, but if the people will allow of the change, he is willing. How glad have we all cauſe to be, that at length the foundation of the Government is the acceptation and conſent of the people? none but thoſe that are acquainted with the *Arcana Imperii*, can tell when, where, and how this conſent ſhould be gained. If it

liament muſt not. Theſe Parliaments are dangerous Beaſts for *England* to deal with; a wonder it is they have continued ſo long, having changed the Government ſo often. Its true, there have been changes of late, but the end hath been to raiſe up this excellent frame of Government: and therefore if men and times be conſidered and compared, it wil eaſily appear whence theſe changes come.

But what if he ſhould ſay, if there ſhould be a diſ-equality or diſ-proportion as to the Power; it is on the other hand. Then would I crave leave to ſay his own words, Would he had made the people ſo happy as to let them know his grounds. Pag. 23

In the next place, the Parliament is arraigned of inexorableneſs; *I would* (ſaith he) *have wiſhed it had been in your hearts to have agreed that ſome friendly and cordial debates might have been towards mutual conviction: ſuch things have been propoſed and rejected with ſtiffneſs and ſeverity.* Pag. 23.

It ſeems his Lordſhip can take notice of ſome paſſages with the manner in ſtiffneſſe and ſeverity, without infringing the priviledges of Parliament, if they can any way make for his purpoſe; and it ſatisfies me he hath not more to ſay againſt it then hee hath. And this now charged muſt be acknowledged, that ſuch a thing was propounded once ſome while before the Parliament ended, and at another time, I think the laſt day but one of their ſitting of the Parliament, and it was both times upon full and mild Debate concluded in the Negative; amongſt other reaſons, theſe that follow did give ſatisfaction to ſome therein.

1. The iſſue of ſuch Debates could be no other then the ſpending of time, and hindring of determining the debates of the Houſe, which was verily believed to be aimed at by ſome who were diſaffected with the proceedings,

2. Although application had been twice made by the Parliament to the Protector, one concerning Religion, the other concerning the Militia, and therein attendance more then hath been uſed to any of the Kings of this Land; yet the iſſue was nothing but this; as to that of Religion, *He would ſee the whole before him, he liked not to determine by parcels*, or to that effect. And as to the Militia, he agreed to demoliſh ſome few Garriſons, but could not allow disbanding of any Soldiers in *England*, or *Scotland*, nor in *Ireland*, til he heard further from thence.

was before it was ſworn, it was before it was known. If it were at the time of the ſwearing, it was before it was underſtood, and only by thoſe that heard it, and underſtood it, which were very few; and of them that liked it, there were yet fewer. If it was after the Oath, it was too late to be a foundation of that which was formerly aſſerted by the very Oath it ſelf.

After Digreſſions from the charging of the Parliament, to Apologies for his preſent and future undertakings, wherewith I have not to intermeddle, but ſhall endeavor within my ſtation to maintain peace, and ſhall leave them to the Lord and Governour of the world. I ſay, after nine or ten leaves ſpent therein, he returnes to his laſt charge againſt the Parliament. *You have laboured to overthrow the Government: and the Army is now upon free-quarter, and you would never ſo much as let me hear a tittle from you concerning it; Where is the fault? has it not been as if you had a purpoſe to put this extremity upon us and the Nation.* Three charges laid upon the Parliaments account, all of great weight. Firſt, they here labored to overthrow the Government. Secondly, the Army is upon free-quarter. Thirdly, The Parliament hath purpoſely put this extremity upon the Nation. Pag. 33.

The firſt of theſe, concerning the Government is, *That the Parliament hath laboured to overthrow it.* How can that be objected, when he knoweth not what the Parliament hath been doing? whether they have been alive or dead? himſelfe acknowledgeth there are things alterable upon conviction, and that he is willing to agree to any alteration upon conviction, ſo that the Government be not taken off the Foundation, which is the conſent of the people; and in order thereunto the Parliament hath imploied their labor in examining the particulars thereof; Is this an overthrowing of it? Doth the purging of the body from ill humors, overthrow the body? The Parliament never intended to unbottom any Government from the peoples conſent, but to fix it thereupon. If he taketh the Government to be in every particular fixed upon the peoples conſent, doth not he conſent to overthrow the Government, when as he is willing to alter any thing upon conviction?

Secondly, concerning free-quarter: the Act for Aſſeſſment was ready to be preſented to him, for the firſt payment (as I remember) to be in *Febr.* and I ſuppoſe the payment had been as ſoon within the time charged as was wont to be: and why the ſoldier ſhould be

upon free-quarter upon the 22. of Jan. in this three months pay, rather then in former times, is not easily understood; unlesse some design were to render the Parliament odious to the people; and as to the great arreares of 30. weekes to the soldiers (I think) the people may well say its not their default, they feele that they have paid their Assessements: if the soldiers be kept in arreares to make them depend, as is used elswhere; the Parliament is not to be accountable for that. If then such an act was prepared, and not one title thereof was mentioned to the Protector (by those that it seemes could mention and misreport other matters) its to be imputed to a providence, and therein the matter must rest. But this may be certainly said, that divers in the House heard that the Protector knew thereof, and excepted against the smalnesse of the summe of 600001. *per mensem.* But if no such act had been made, the Parliament did towards their latter time of sitting (and after the assessement was agreed) understand by good information (as they conceived) that the Excise, and Customes and other profits was a sufficient revenue to defray the charge of the forces, both by sea, and land; such as should be necessary according to the Government; and if they had continued the assessement for longer time then for the three months of *Januarary*, *Feburary*, and *March*, instant; it had been, I believe for, the payment of publick debts, and not for the soldiers. And therefore the necessitie of free quarter doth not yet appear.

3. As to the third Charge, and worst of all, *That the Parliament hath purposely put this extremity upon the Nation.* I must say as formerly, the act was ready, I believe it was known so to be; but whether through the smalnesse of the summe, or that it was delayed from presenting to the Protector, till it might be delivered to the Protector together with the Bill concerning the Government, or what other matter was the cause, I know not; but the Protector I think doth know why he declared the Parliament to be dissolved just at that time. Yet this is not so heavy as that which followes; that this was *purposely to put the Nation into extremitie:* And thus the Parliament or Trustees sent up to provide a Remedy for Grievances intend extremities upon the Nation, and so themselves become the greatest grievance of all. In answer whereof, I dare not undertake to determine

mine the purpose of the Parliament, none but the Parliament it self can do that, and it being now dissolved, I can only say, I know the particular members, and beleeve most of them to be peaceably and religiously affected, and far unworthy of such imputation; Only there was great care taken how to preserve the peoples liberties (as it was supposed there was great cause) and it was supposed that a temporary suspending of that care might have led a way to an absolute rejection of the same. For though (as the Protector saith) a man will not take his liberty of pleasure when his house is on fire; yet if he shall resolve upon a temporary suspension of his care for his house in such exigencie; he may well expect to see his house burnt down before his time of suspension be overpast. pag. 35.

I shall conclude all with two things; the one a request to the reader, that this Representation, framed in a short and plaine manner for all capacities, as I could, may be accepted not as the sense of the Parliament, which no single member may undertake, much lesse the meanest of them all; but as of one that doth desire to uphold the honour and good opinion of Parliaments among the people of these Nations as much as he can.

The other an humble petition to his Highness the Lord Protector, if it may appear before him, that he will seriously consider the nature of the Government yet further, comparing the first principle of One and a Parliament, with the meanes or other particulars therein contained; I may say with some confidence, that the general sort of the people in these Nations, will much respect the Government by *One and a Parliament*: but as to the perpetual maintaining of standing Forces, and a Captain Generall in order to maintaining of *One and a Parliament*, (as it is propounded in the Government to be part of a *Magna Charta*, or a standing Rule) it's absolutely destructive thereunto, unless the forces can be ordered as at the first they were, *viz.* Both the Commander in chiefe, and the army alwaies under the order of the Parliament. For no Body aggregate sooner breeds confusion then an Armie, where the Commander commonly is without rule, or established Law. And if such Contests do already arise, when as the Commanders of the Army hold forth the rule of conscience, what other Government can be expected in future ages, when Commanders shall have neither Law, nor conscience, nor other

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other rule but that of the Turks or Mahmalukes, even their own wills, which I leave to the consideration of his Higneſſe, and thoſe Commanders who hold themſelves obliged to maintain the liberty of their poſterity, and Country in future ages. But if the people may not have ſo much credit with his Highneſſe, as to provide for thir own Happineſſe, it were a work of charity (in this poſture of affaires) never to call the Repreſentative of the people any more, nor put them to the temptation of being parties to the ruin of their own Liberties, what ever imbaſement they ſhal be brought unto by an over-ruling power. Otherwiſe, to ſuppoſe that any one ſhall be able to beſtride a continual Army and the Repreſentative of the people at once, and keep them in Coordinacy for the publick good, is a meer Notion that will bring forth nothing but winde and confuſion, and rack aſunder the joynts of any mortal man in the concluſion. This is the Humble opinion of him that Prayeth for the Peace of *Hieruſalem, and the proſperity of all that love it.*

Quem das finem Rex Magne Laborum?